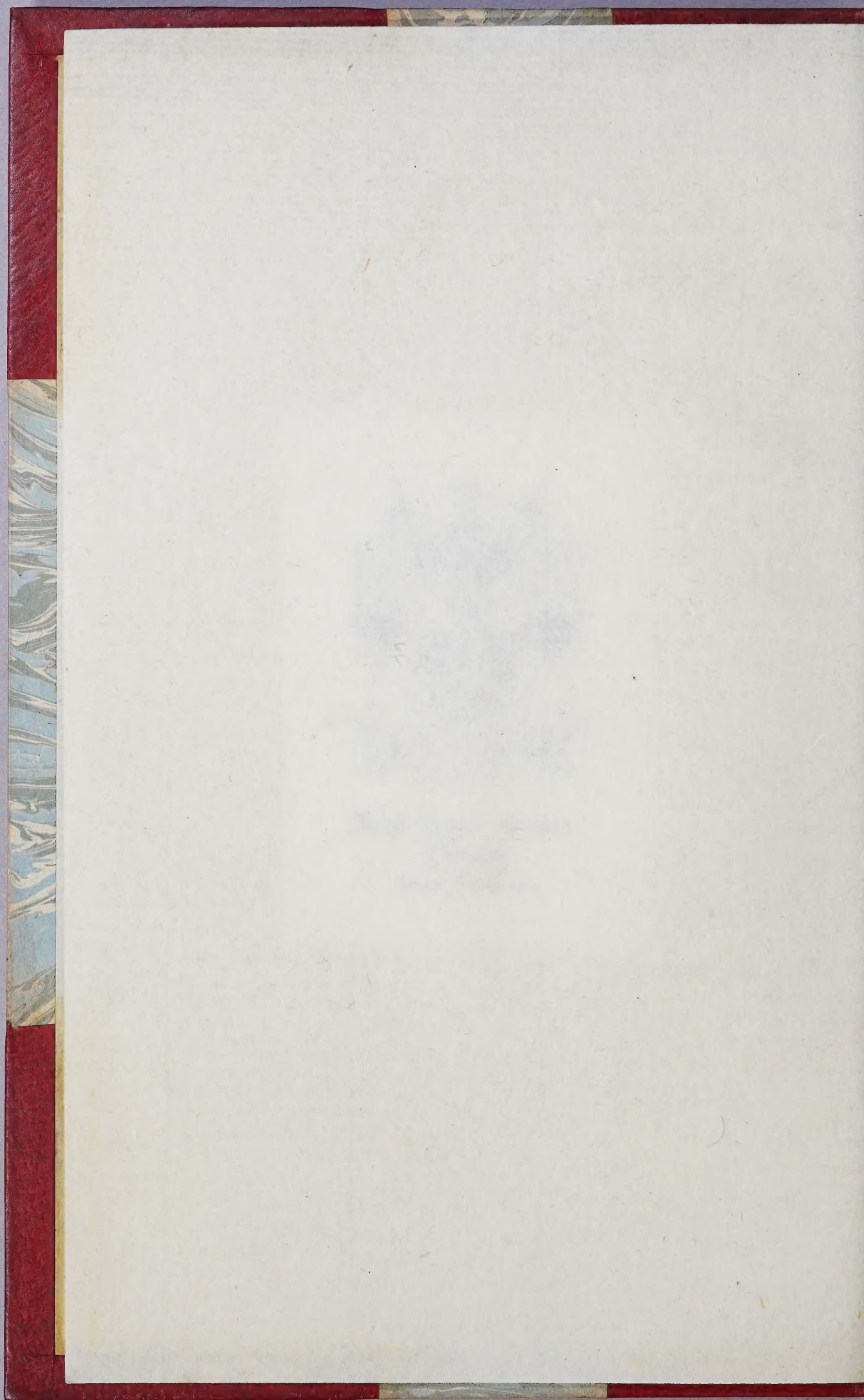


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By Thomas Paine

the rights of man

A D D I T I O N S
TO
COMMON SENSE;

ADDRESSED TO THE
INHABITANTS OF AMERICA.

PHILADELPHIA, PRINTED:
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1776.

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ADDITIONS

TO

COMMON SENSE

AND

INDEPENDENTS OF AMERICA

1800

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A D D I T I O N S
T O
C O M M O N S E N S E.

AMERICAN INDEPENDANCY
D E F E N D E D.

W H E N the little pamphlet intitled COMMON SENSE first made its appearance in favour of that so often abjured idea of independance upon Great-Britain, I was informed that no less than three gentlemen of respectable abilities were engaged to answer it. As yet I have seen nothing which directly pretends to dispute a single position of the author. The solemn Testimony of the Quakers, however intended, having offered nothing to the purpose, I shall take leave to examine this important question, with all candour and attention, and submit the result to my much injured country.

Dependance of one man, or state, upon another, is either absolute, or limited by some certain terms of agreement. The dependance of these Colonies, which Great-Britain calls *constitutional*, as declared by act of Parliament, is absolute. If the contrary of this be the bugbear so many have been declaiming against, I could wish my countrymen would consider the consequence of so stupid a profession. If a limited dependance is intended, I would be much obliged to any one who will shew me the *Britanno-American Magna Charta* wherein the terms of our limited dependance are precisely stated. If no such thing can be found, and *absolute* dependance be accounted inadmissible, the sound we are squabbling about has certainly no determinate meaning. If any say, we mean that kind of dependance we acknowledged at and before the year 1763; I answer, *vague and uncertain*

tain laws, and more especially CONSTITUTIONS, are the very instruments of slavery. The Magna Charta of England was very explicit, considering the time it was formed, and yet much blood was spilt in disputes concerning its meaning.

Besides the danger of an indefinite dependance upon an undetermined power, it might be worth while to consider what the characters are on whom we are so ready to acknowledge ourselves dependant. The votaries for this idol tell us, upon the good people of our Mother-Country, whom they represent as the most just, humane, and affectionate friends we can have in the world. Were this true, it were some encouragement; but who can pretend ignorance that these just and humane friends are as much under the tyranny of men of a reverse character as we should be, could these miscreants gain their ends? I disclaim any more than a mutual dependance on any man, or number of men, upon earth; but an indefinite dependance upon a combination of men, who have, in the face of the sun, broken through the most solemn covenants, debauched the hereditary, and corrupted the elective guardians of the people's rights; who have, in fact, established an absolute tyranny in Great-Britain and Ireland, and openly declared themselves *competent to bind the Colonists in all cases whatsoever*; I say, indefinite dependance on such a combination of *usurping innovators* is evidently as dangerous to liberty, as fatal to civil and social happiness, as any one step that could be proposed, even by the *destroyer of men*. The utmost that the honest party in Great-Britain can do, is to warn us to avoid this dependance at all hazards! Does not even a Duke of Grafton declare the ministerial measures illegal and dangerous? And shall America, no way connected with this administration, press our submission to such measures, and reconciliation to the authors of them? Would not such pigeon-hearted wretches equally forward the recall of the Stuart family, and the establishment of Popery throughout Christendom, did they conceive the party in favour of those loyal measures the strongest? Shame on the men who can court exemption from present

sent trouble and expence, at the price of their own and posterity's liberty! The honest party in England cannot wish for the reconciliation proposed. It is as unsafe to them as to us, and they thoroughly apprehend it. What check have they now upon the Crown, and what shadow of controul can they pretend, when the Crown can command fifteen or twenty millions a year, which they have nothing to say to? A proper proportion of our commerce is all that can benefit any good man in Britain or Ireland, and God forbid we should be so cruel as to furnish bad men with power to enslave both Britain and America. Administration has now fairly dislevered the dangerous tie: execrated will he be by the latest posterity who again joins the fatal cord! But, say the puling pusillanimous cowards, we shall be subject to a long and bloody war, if we declare independance. On the contrary, I affirm it the only step that can bring the contest to a speedy and happy issue. By declaring independance we place ourselves on a footing for an equal negociation: now we are called a pack of villainous rebels, who, like the St. Vincent Indians, can expect nothing more than a pardon for our lives, and the sovereign favour, respecting freedom and property, *to be at the King's will*. Grant, Almighty God, that I may be numbered with the dead before that fable day dawn on North-America!

All Europe knows the illegal and inhuman treatment we have received from Britons. All Europe wishes the haughty Empress of the Main reduced to a more humble deportment. After herself has thrust her Colonies from her, the maritime powers cannot be such ideots as to suffer her to reduce them to a more absolute obedience of her dictates than they were heretofore obliged to yield. Does not the most superficial politician know, that, while we profess ourselves the subjects of Great-Britain, and yet hold arms against her, they have a right to treat us as rebels, and that, according to the laws of nature and nations, no other state has a right to interfere in the dispute? But on the other hand, on our declaration of independance, the maritime states at least will find it their interest, which always secures the question

of

8 ADDITIONS TO, &c.

of inclination, to protect a people who can be so advantageous to them. So that those short-sighted politicians, who conclude that this step will involve us in slaughter and devastation, may plainly perceive that no measure in our power will so naturally and effectually work our deliverance. The motion of a finger of the Grand Monarch would procure as gentle a temper in the Omnipotent British Minister as appeared in the Manilla ransom and Falkland-Islands affairs. From without, certainly, we have every thing to hope, nothing to fear; from within some tell us the Presbyterians, if freed from the restraining power of Great-Britain, would over-run the peaceable Quakers in this government. For my own part, I despise and detest the bickerings of sectaries, and am apprehensive of no trouble from that quarter, especially while no peculiar honours nor emoluments are annexed to either. I heartily wish too many of the Quakers did not give cause of complaint, by endeavouring to counteract the measures of their fellow-citizens for the common safety. If they profess themselves only pilgrims here, let them walk through the men of this world without interfering with their actions on either side. If they would not *pull down Kings*, let them not *support tyrants*; for, whether they understand it or not, there is, and ever has been, an essential difference in the characters.

Finally, with M. De Vattel, I account *a state a moral person having an interest and will of its own*, and I think that state a monster whose prime mover has an interest and will in direct opposition to its prosperity and security. This position has been so clearly demonstrated in the pamphlet first mentioned in this essay, that I shall only add, if there are any arguments in favour of returning to a state of dependance on Great-Britain, that is, on the present Administration of Great-Britain, I could wish they were timely offered, that they may be soberly considered, before the cunning proposals of the cabinet set all the timid, lazy, and irresolute members of the community into a clamour for *peace at any rate*.

CANDIDUS.

*The ANCIENT TESTIMONY and PRINCIPLES of
the People called QUAKERS, renewed, with respect to
the KING and GOVERNMENT; and touching the
COMMOTIONS now prevailing in these and other Parts of
AMERICA; addressed to the PEOPLE in GENERAL,*

A Religious concern for our friends and fellow-subjects of every denomination, and more especially for those of all ranks who in the present commotions are engaged in public employments and stations, induces us earnestly to beseech every individual, in the most solemn manner, to consider the end and tendency of the measures they are promoting; and, on the most impartial enquiry into the state of their minds, carefully to examine whether they are acting in the fear of God, and in conformity to the precepts and doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom we profess to believe in, and that by him alone we expect to be saved from our sins.

The calamities and afflictions which now surround us should, as we apprehend, affect every mind with the most awful consideration of the dispensations of Divine Providence to mankind in general in former ages, and that, as the sins and iniquities of the people subjected them to grievous sufferings, the same causes still produce the like effects.

The inhabitants of these provinces were long signally favoured with peace and plenty: Have the returns of true thankfulness been generally manifest? Have integrity and godly simplicity been maintained, and religiously regarded? Hath a religious care to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly, been evident? Hath the precept of Christ, to do unto others as we would they should do unto us, been the governing rule of our conduct? Hath an upright impartial desire to prevent the slavery and oppression of our fellow-men, and to restore them to their natural right, to true Christian liberty, been cherished and encouraged? Or have pride, wantonness, luxury, profaneness, a partial spirit, and forgetfulness of the goodness and mercies of God, become lamentably

mentably prevalent? Have we not, therefore, abundant occasion to break off from our sins by righteousness, and our iniquities by shewing mercy to the poor; and, with true contrition and abasement of soul, to humble ourselves, and supplicate the almighty preserver of men, to shew favour, and to renew unto us a state of tranquillity and peace?

It is our fervent desire that this may soon appear to be the pious resolution of the people in general, of all ranks and denominations; then may we have a well-grounded hope, that wisdom from above, which is pure, peaceable, and full of mercy, and good fruits, will preside and govern in the deliberations of those who, in these perilous times, undertake the transaction of the most important public affairs; and that by their steady care and endeavours, constantly to act under the influences of this wisdom, those of inferior stations will be incited diligently to pursue those measures which make for peace, and tend to the reconciliation of contending parties, on principles dictated by the Spirit of Christ, who "came not to destroy mens lives, but to save them." Luke ix. 56.

We are so fully assured that these principles are the most certain and effectual means of preventing the extreme misery and desolations of wars and bloodshed, that we are constrained to intreat all who profess faith in Christ to manifest that they really believe in him, and desire to obtain the blessings he pronounced to the makers of peace. Mat. v. 9.

His spirit ever leads to seek for and improve every opportunity of promoting peace and reconciliation, and constantly to remember, that, as we really confide in him, he can, in his own time, change the hearts of all men in such manner, that the way to obtain it hath been often opened contrary to every human prospect or expectation.

May we, therefore, heartily and sincerely unite in supplications to the Father of Mercies, to grant the plentiful effusions of his Spirit to all, and in an especial manner to those in superior stations, that they may with sincerity

cerity guard against and reject all such measures and councils as may increase and perpetuate the discord, animosities, and unhappy contentions, which now sorrowfully abound.

We cannot but with distressed minds beseech all such, in the most solemn and awful manner, to consider that, if by their acting and persisting in a proud, selfish spirit, and not regarding the dictates of true wisdom, such measures are pursued as tend to the shedding of innocent blood; in the day when they and all men shall appear at the judgment-seat of Christ, to receive a reward according to their works, they will be excluded from his favour, and their portion will be in everlasting misery. See Mat. xxv. 41. 2 Cor. v. 10.

The peculiar evidence of divine regard manifested to our ancestors, in the founding and settlement of these provinces, we have often commemorated, and desire ever to remember, with true thankfulness and reverent admiration.

When we consider—That at the time they were persecuted, and subjected to severe sufferings, as a people unworthy of the benefits of religious or civil society, the hearts of the King and rulers under whom they thus suffered were inclined to grant them these fruitful countries, and entrust them with charters of very extensive powers and privileges—That on their arrival here the minds of the natives were inclined to receive them with great hospitality and friendship, and to cede to them the most valuable part of their land on very easy terms.—That while the principles of justice and mercy continued to preside, they were preserved in tranquility and peace, free from the desolating calamities of war; and their endeavours were wonderfully blessed and prospered, so that the saying of the wisest of Kings was signally verified to them, “when a man’s ways please the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him.” Prov. xvi. 7.

The benefits, advantages, and favour, we have experienced by our dependence on, and connection with, the Kings and government under which we have enjoyed
this

this happy state, appear to demand from us the greatest circumspection, care, and constant endeavours, to guard against every attempt to alter or subvert that dependence and connection.

The scenes lately presented to our view, and the prospect before us, we are sensible, are very distressing and discouraging; and though we lament that such amicable measures as have been proposed, both here and in England, for the adjustment of the unhappy contests subsisting, have not been effectual; nevertheless, we should rejoice to observe the continuance of mutual peaceable endeavours for effecting a reconciliation; having grounds to hope that the divine favour and blessing will attend them.

“It hath ever been our judgment and principles since we were called to profess the Light of Christ Jesus, manifested in our conscience, unto this day, that the setting up, and putting down, Kings and governments, is God’s peculiar prerogative, for causes best known to himself; and that it is not our business to have any hand or contrivance therein, nor to be busy bodies above our station, much less to plot and contrive the ruin, or overturn any of them, but to pray for the King, and safety of our nation, and good of all men; that we may live a peaceable and quiet life, in all godliness and honesty, under the government which God is pleased to set over us.”
Ancient Testimony, 1696, in Sewell’s History.

May we therefore firmly unite in the abhorrence of all such writings and measures as evidence a desire and design to break off the happy connection we have heretofore enjoyed with the kingdom of Great-Britain, and our just and necessary subordination to the King, and those who are lawfully placed in authority under him; that thus the repeated solemn declarations, made on this subject, in the addresses sent to the King, on the behalf of the people of America in general, may be confirmed, and remain to be our firm and sincere intentions to observe and fulfil.

Signed in and on behalf of a meeting of the Representatives of our Religious Society, in Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, held at Philadelphia, the 20th day of the first month, 1776.

JOHN PEMBERTON, CLERK.

The PROPRIETY of INDEPENDANCY.

TO acknowledge that the Creator formed Man for society, and that society cannot subsist without regulations, laws, and government; and at the same time to assert, that in spite of all human care to prevent it, every government will degenerate into a tyranny, is such a daring *blasphemy* of the *divine attributes*, that had I not heard it asserted, and acquiesced in as a truth, I could not have believed such a position could have existed in a civilized country! This monstrous hypothesis concludes, that notwithstanding the Deity had power enough to form such admirable creatures as men and women, and fit them for enjoying of each other a thousand ways, and though by means of the most exquisite of those enjoyments a race should arise from them over which every power of rightful government must of necessity be exercised, yet just and rightful government is in reality utopian, imaginary, and impracticable! Did not God cloath the grass, direct the wild goat, and provide for the sparrow, I might more easily be persuaded to suspect his care of man.

I readily grant, that the delegates of governmental power are too apt to consider themselves the possessors of it *in their own right*, and that they therefore take every means in their power to become the *masters* in place of *servants* to their *constituents*; and that the people in all civilized countries have been too inattentive to the usurpations of their rulers: but I conceive of no cause in the nature of things which so absolutely counteracts the power of a wise, learned, and free community, as to render it impossible for them to preserve their liberty. The arguments brought from the condition of other states, are by no means conclusive with respect to the North American colonies. I am bold to assert, that such a favourable combination of circumstances as they are blessed with at this important conjuncture, never did take place among any people with whom history has made us acquainted. The most just and solid foundation of social happiness was laid in the first settlement of the

continent, *the cultivation of the earth for the subsistence of its proprietor*. Here was no feudal tenure from some military lord; every cultivator being the lord of his own soil, and content with its produce, had no thoughts of encroaching upon and subjecting his neighbour to his absolute dominion. Hence a handsome competency has enabled the bulk of the people to give their children such an education as enables them to read, and become acquainted with the usurpations of the deepest plotters of their ruin. The spirit of the people for obtaining this necessary information, is evident from the incredible number of news-papers, and other periodical publications which they encourage, and the effect of such institutions never have been so great in any community, yet known, as in these *pantaplebean* (*altogether commons*) colonies. How quickly the most important revolution of the fundamentals of our policy can pervade a continent, may be guessed at by the progress of the idea of colonial independancy in three weeks or a month at farthest! Surely thousands and tens of thousands of common farmers and tradesmen must be better reasoners than some of our trammelled *juris consultors*, who to this hour feel a reluctance to part with the abominable chain, which remaining, in any shape whatever, though modified by all the wisdom and caution of the greatest men now living, must in a very little time drag the colonies into the most abject slavery. Many profess themselves zealous for the liberties of America, yet declare an abhorrence of the idea of independancy on Great Britain. If this be not a solecism, as absurd and irreconcilable as ever was obtruded on mankind, I know not the meaning of the term! *Civil liberty* never was defined in stricter terms than *an EXEMPTION from all controul, WITHOUT THE COMMUNITY, in which every qualified member has an equal voice*. No American, as such, has the shadow of incorporation with the government of Great Britain; and in consequence, if he receives the least syllable of law from that quarter, he gives up his claim to the definitive exemption. If the sticklers for *dependance* do not mean dependance for some certain laws, in the forming of which

which the conolists have no voice at all, I do not yet understand them; and if they do mean that we should admit the *claim* of any state, or any part of the power of any state, with which the democratic power of this state is not incorporated, to give us law *in any case whatever*, they admit a *fibre*, which I must make free to tell them, will speedily grow into an *iron sinew*, which neither themselves nor posterity will be able to endure or burst asunder. And further, it is not only the admission of some possible law from a foreign power, that hurries a people into slavery; a meer negative power on acts for the repeal of grievous laws will more slowly, but as certainly, subvert liberty.

Again, Mr. Hume's observation, [*Perfect Commonwealth*, p. 301.] that "the sword being in the hands of a single person who will *always neglect to discipline the militia*, in order to have the pretext to *keep up a standing army*;" and the succeeding one, "that this is a *mortal distemper* in the *British* government, of which it *must, at last, inevitably perish*," now so fatally confirmed, may be a sufficient warning to the colonies to *beware of being again entangled with the yoke of bondage*.

Many object to a republican government as impracticable in a large state. "The contrary of this (says Hume) [*Per. Com.* 302.] seems evident. Though it is more difficult to form a republican government in an extensive country than in a city; there is more facility, when once it is formed, of preserving it steady and uniform, without tumult or faction, in the former than the latter. (*Per. Com.* 303.) In a large government, which is modelled with masterly skill, there is compass and room enough to refine the democracy from the lower people, who may be admitted into the first elections, or first concoction of the commonwealth; to the higher magistrates who direct all the motions. At the same time the parts are so distant and remote, that it is very difficult, either by intrigue, prejudice, or passion, to hurry them into measures against the public interest." Thus far Mr. Hume.

DEMOPHILUS.

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A Review

A Review of the AMERICAN CONTEST.

NATURE instructs the brute creation to provide for, guard and protect their offspring, until they are able to do for themselves. The dam is never known to forsake her young while her care is necessary for their safety, nor to do any thing which would involve them in distress and difficulty. Man, who has this principle in common with brutes, is endowed with others yet more valuable, but which to him are absolutely necessary, whereby he is taught to provide for the future welfare of his descendants, and to guard them from the encroachments of that power which civil society constitutes for its own safety; but which, through the depravity of human nature, is often turned against it. There are few parents who do not make it their constant study and earnest endeavour to leave some valuable inheritance to their children: few who have been so lost to the feelings of nature and calls of parental affection, as to entail difficulty and distress on their children, when it was in their power to leave them a fair and easy inheritance. And yet it has so happened, that by an ill-timed attachment to the present, without paying proper attention to the future, they have entailed misery upon them by the very means which were designed to preserve them from it.

It is now in your power to bequeath to your children the one or the other, and it becomes you to have an eye to them in all your proceedings. It is sufficiently known to you, that riches in arbitrary states are often the ruin of their possessors, and that security to property is absolutely necessary to stamp their true value on wealth and possessions. He, therefore, who wishes to leave his children in flourishing circumstances, ought to be a zealous friend to those measures, and that plan of government which gives the greatest security to property, and an active warm opposer of those which leave it to the arbitrary disposal of men, who find a greater advantage in making free with what does not belong to them, than in frugally using what is justly their own. Whig and Tory should be out of the question. Private pique, party faction and animosity

profit ought to subside. He who thinks should think for posterity, and he who acts should act for his children.

It is a great weakness to suffer our passions to take place of our reason, and blindly to follow their dictates, though to our manifest hurt, rather than subject them to our better sense. A false pride, which will not acknowledge an error though ever so evident, an obstinate perseverance in our own opinion, without deigning to hear advice or instruction, and an unreasonable attachment to party, have done much mischief to mankind, and may yet do more, if not carefully avoided. I have directed this paper to you in preference to others, because your parental affection should form more than a counterpoise to every false principle, which can influence the human mind where the interest of your offspring is at stake.

Our present contest is immensely great, and every man must see that it will affect posterity. Its consequences cannot end with itself; but the latest generations must feel its effects. The greater Ruler of the universe has permitted it for wise purposes, and has called every one of us to act our part in it. It becomes us, therefore, laying aside all former prejudices, partiality and party attachments, to act upon principles which will justify us to him who has assigned us our stations, and cause posterity to bless the memory of their forefathers. We all agree in this, that Great Britain is unjust and arbitrary, and we have hitherto principally differed in the mode of opposition, which ought to have been pursued. I speak not to those who think one way and talk another. They act upon such base principles, that it is in vain to attempt to rouse in them any just or generous sentiments. We have no instance of the conversion of avaricious or ambitious hypocrites, and it would be wasting time to use arguments to convince them. I direct myself to you who have sincerity sufficient to examine the principles on which you proceed, and honesty enough to pursue that course of conduct which appears to be right, and so much affection for your children, as to prefer their interest and happiness to every other consideration. For you I mean
to

to throw together a few hints, which may assist you in finally fixing a right choice.

The British administration began its attacks on our liberties with a Stamp Act, but meeting with strong opposition they thought fit to repeal it. This act threw the colonies into strong convulsions, and we rejoiced exceedingly on its repeal, and fondly hoped, that we should enjoy future tranquillity. But we were mistaken. They never intended to relinquish the design, but only to change their ground, that which they first pitched upon not seeming tenable. An American revenue granted by a British parliament was the object, and they never lost sight of it; for they soon renewed their attacks upon principles which they thought more favourable to their intentions; but meeting with as little success in that, as in the preceding attempt, they suspended their measures for a time, in hopes of lulling us into a careless security. They accordingly once more returned to the charge, and endeavoured to effect by cunning and artifice what they had heretofore attempted in vain on every other peaceable plan. This not succeeding, they were reduced to their last shift of bullying and force; and this they resolved upon. They levied armies, appointed generals of reputation to command, and sent them amongst us, we may know their commissions by their conduct; for after abusing, brow-beating and insulting, after starving and tarring and feathering, after offering every possible injury which a free people could bear, without obtaining their ends, and every other measure failing, they drew the sword, and at once reduced us to the dire alternative of submitting to their illegal claims of jurisdiction, or entering into the bloody contest. Like men determined to be free we chose the latter. It now rests on the last argument, an argument which finally settles all controversies of a like nature. The plan of operation is now opened, and they who stand to it with the most steady perseverance must finally succeed. This is the decree of Providence in all cases, "he that persevereth unto the end shall be saved." We have, by the blessing of God, effectually baffled all their former attempts; but if

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we fail in this, all our former victories will only serve to make our fall the more conspicuous and terrible.

I will not enquire what would have been the efficacy of any heretofore recommended, but untried means. The worst that can have happened, and it is with it we have now to deal; to relinquish it on our part, would be to give up the matter, for however any means might once have done, cowardice alone would now desert the field, and slavery must be the inevitable consequence.

I do not wonder that war fits heavy on us, and that we are somewhat restless and uneasy; but I shall be surprized, if we, who have so long and so successively opposed tyranny and oppression, should all on a sudden lose every desire of retaining our liberties. I am forced into this remark by the artful, cunning and designing manner in which some men talk of a reconciliation with Great Britain, and the bug-bears they conjure up to frighten the timid, irresolute and ignorant, from a steady prosecution of those means, which alone can help us in our present circumstances. Facts bear evidence from the beginning of the contest, that every scheme they ever recommended has, upon trial, proved inadequate to the end for which it was intended; yet they proceed. Beware of such men, they love neither their country nor their liberties, so much as something else.

There are many, I doubt not, who are denominated Tories by the more zealous Whigs, who, in their hearts, wish success to our measures, though they may be chagrined because those they proposed did not go down with the people; these are uniform, open, and not very dangerous; but there are others, who, under the cloak of friendship for the cause, harbour the bitterest rancour and malice in their hearts. These talk favourably in general, though their discourses mostly terminate with a *doubt*, *suspicion*, or *but*, which gives those with whom they converse, reason to dread some hidden design, or approaching evil, which most men have not properly attended to. They artfully recall your attention to a certain period, when all was peace and quietness, and by pathetically lamenting the unhappy alteration, endeavour

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to impress your minds with an opinion, that all our troubles arose from ourselves. They carefully avoid mentioning the iniquitous measures of the British government which produced them, and by keeping those out of sight, they gradually lead the unwary into the belief, that the men who have been most active on the present occasion in opposing the tyrannical proceedings of Great Britain, and who have hazarded their all in defence of their country, have been actuated by sinister motives in all they have done. If every man who hears such insinuations were to ask those who cast them out, what measures have not the men they condemn tried at one time or another to avoid the present contest, and save our liberties? What advantages can they reap by a successful end of it, which every other freeman on the continent will not reap equally with them? And in an unsuccessful close of it, all will allow they must be the greatest sufferers. Their lives must go, let who will else escape. These questions might recall them to facts, and these facts would enable men to judge aright.

Honesty could not stand the force of a few pertinent questions, but these men have taken their leave of it, and, like Manasseh of old, have sold themselves to do wickedly. Were it not so, could it be possible for them in the face of the sun, to charge all our troubles on the New England Presbyterians, troubles which originally begun and have all along been kept up by a wicked administration and a venal parliament. To make them the hatchers of mischiefs occasioned by unconstitutional acts of parliaments, and the only fomenters of our just opposition, which a Pennsylvanian Quaker, a Maryland and a Virginian churchman, did more to effect than all the other men on the continent put together, is cruelty in the extreme. My heart bleeds when I think of such men; who would sell the whole continent, and all the blood on it, for private advantage, and with whom a few thousand guineas, with a title, would be esteemed an equivalent for the lives, liberty and property, of the freemen of a colony. May that God, who sees how little they can gain, if successful, open their eyes and
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turn their hearts, e'er they be convinced by fatal experience, that he who purchases the whole world at the price of his soul, is a very unwise dealer, and makes but a poor bargain in the end. If the calls of virtue, the precepts of religion, and dictates of patriotism, cannot awaken them to a sense of their duty, yet Norfolk might open their eyes. But let them do as they please, we ought to act wisely. If we do not make such a settlement now as will secure the privileges we contend for to posterity, we entail either slavery or a civil war on our children. This is certain, let what will be doubtful. Look round you then, view your offspring, and tell me, are you willing to leave them such a legacy? Do not trifle on this occasion, all your other legacies must derive their true value from the part you now take in this contest. Think not that the God who charges him with worse than infidelity who provides not for his own, and those of his household, will justify you in returning to the state you were in when our troubles began, and thereby delivering over your offspring to the mischievous machinations of a power that from the beginning has set right, justice, and mercy at defiance, and in all her deliberations considered nothing but her ability to execute.

Look to the year 1763, that happy period, as many so fondly call it, and see what safety there is to America in such a situation. Lord North has said, "If that is all they want, we are agreed;" and the saying pleases many of you. His Lordship, like others, who have learned wisdom by experience, wishes to have all to begin again, believing that he could more easily effect his purpose by other means than those he is at present pursuing. Swallow the bait and you are undone for ever.

Can any man in his senses believe, that he who has so long, and so invariably pursued his point against the sense of the best men in the nation, will finally desert his master's most favourite scheme so easily? Has he uttered a single syllable that can make the most credulous believe, that he is convinced of the injustice of his conduct? He confesses he was deceived; but wherein lay the deception? In believing that fewer troops would effect a submission

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than he is now convinced must be employed. Here lay the deception he complains of; and he is therefore determined to send his terms with such an armed force, as he expects will frighten you into a compliance. Does this look like the conduct of one who designs to relinquish his claims? Were he sensible of the injustice of his proceedings, and the wrongs he has done us, he would speak a very different language. Why does he call you rebels? Why call in foreign troops? Why lament so pathetically, that the extensive operations of the war he means to carry on against you, will exhaust his funds and increase the public debts, while he has not a single tear to shed, not a groan, nor as much as a sigh for all the blood already spilt, and yet to spill? O!—if thy ministers intentions are not evil against us, why not hearken to the repeated prayers of thy distressed subjects in America? Why not recall thy troops, repeal the acts, indemnify us for what we have suffered, and offer any further security to our rights? Thou hast an obedient parliament, which disputes not thy will; and all this is in thy power, and in no one's else. Had the King made a speech to the house, recommending these things, he would have given an unequivocal proof of his honest intentions, and it might justly be termed gracious. But who can trust a ———, who, while he speaks the language of peace and humanity with his lips, has nothing but cruelty and war in his conduct. The man who does, may have the innocence of the dove, but he cannot be possessed of the wisdom of the serpent.

A friend to posterity and mankind.

*To the Right Honourable Lord DARTMOUTH, Secretary of
State for AMERICA. **

Philadelphia, Jan. 1, 1776.

My Lord,

YOU are the minister of the American department. You have the character of a religious man, a rare virtue in a modern statesman. It has become my duty and interest to address you, on the present circumstances of affairs in America. I know the Americans well; their strongest and ruling passion was their affection to their mother country; the honour, the glory of Great Britain, they esteemed as their greatest happiness; a large portion of the same affection remains; nothing but repeated injuries and injustice could have lessened it. My Lord, from a wanton and avaricious exercise of power, the ministry of Great Britain have heaped injuries on the heads of the Americans, that no one period of history can parallel.

The practice of the Egyptians in smothering the children of the Israelites in the birth, the swords of Cortez and Pizarro, who slew millions of innocent Mexicans and Peruvians, the dreadful famine brought by the East India company upon the poor East Indians, must all be brought into one scale, to serve as any sort of balance to the system of desolation, that you and your brother ministers are meditating and daily practising against the unhappy people of North America.

The elements, which the providence of God hath given for all his creatures, you have the presumption to deprive them of. Fire, sword, famine, and desolation, shew the vicinity of your fleets and armies; children and servants are animated to rise and slaughter their benefactors. No species of cruelty, which the wit or malice of man or devils could devise, but are practised against the Americans.

Do you believe in God, my Lord, and direct these things? Do you believe that God made America as well

* When this paper was written and published, the Americans were not acquainted, that his Lordship had retired to another department in the state.

as Great Britain? If you do, ponder, consider well, what answer will you give if you escape punishment in this world, when you come to be questioned before the throne of God, for the destruction you have made of his creatures, the work of his hands, to whom he granted life and liberty, earth, air and water, equally as to yourself: and yet, presumptuous man, you have dared to counteract his providence! Have you conscience, my Lord? If you have, I would not, for the empire of a thousand worlds, be Lord Dartmouth. But, my Lord, it is not to awaken your conscience that I write you this letter: the flame of civil war, by your management, hath extended far and wide in America; battles have been fought, numbers have been slain, and prisoners taken on both sides; the Americans have in their possession ten for one, and among them many men of rank, Prescott, Preston, Stopford, and others; they are all treated with tenderness and regard, while the prisoners you have taken are treated with severity, carried to England in irons, there, as it is said, to be tried, and of course condemned and executed, or, in other words, under form of law, murdered.

My Lord, if there be any thing on earth or in heaven that you respect, avoid that rock.—You have colonel Allen, captain Martindale, and some other prisoners—the hour that it is known here that any of those prisoners are executed, the prisoners here will be sacrificed—nay more, every English and Scots adherent;—dread, shun, and for ever abandon such murderous intentions.—The cries and vengeance of all the relations of those whose blood shall be shed in this manner will surround you, death and horror will be your constant companions, and the torments of the damned, even on earth, will await you.—

My Lord, this is but the beginning of sorrows. Take in good part what I write. It is truth, and intended for the benefit of Britain and America.

AN ENGLISH AMERICAN.

Observations

Observations on LORD NORTH's Conciliatory
P L A N.

I CANNOT recall an idea to my mind more amazingly absurd and stupid than the idea of Lord North's second attempt to lull the colonists into a belief of his inclination to hold out to them terms of a safe and amicable reconciliation with Great Britain. No one is ignorant, that the Americans have offered every thing that can possibly be devised to bury the injurious and enslaving claim of administration, in perpetual oblivion, and leave matters on the same footing they were before the pretence was held up. Those generous proposals, however often repeated, have as often been rejected with an insolent contempt, and yet the *profound politician* tells his opponents in the British house of commons, that he is heartily inclined to a reconciliation with the colonies, and willing to put them in the situation they so passionately desire; that is, says he, to a courtier demanding explanation, *in a state of absolute dependance on the British parliament in all cases whatsoever*; for, says his Lordship, they were unquestionably thus dependant in 1763. Had his Lordship entirely forgot the success of his former experiment, perhaps a trial of the same wretched *trick* over again, might have appeared less ridiculous. I may indeed say, less insulting to the lowest understanding. I would ask the most credulous votary for making up the dispute, what *possible grounds* he perceives to found his expectation of a permanent reconciliation upon? Has any thing lately happened, which has indicated a change of disposition in the Prince or his favourites? Can a majority, which have been secured from one seven years to another, by pure force of corruption, be depended on to remain firm to a slaughtering, plundering and desolating court, and share the detestation of present and future ages, for mere nothing? Has the court resolved to cast Bernard, Hutchinson, Richardson, Malcolm, and Richardson the recent volunteer, out on the common? I tell you, nay! You have a fresh instance of the firmness of the cabinet, in adding another three
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thousand pound pension to the list, in a conjuncture, when all mankind will confess there is need of saving. These burthenfome pensions must come from some part of the dominions! If Great Britain and Ireland have conceived such a mortal hatred to America, that they can hug her most inveterate enemies in their bosoms, and vote them such munificent rewards for drawing her into so destructive a civil war, we cannot be safe in the power of such enemies. If they abound in resources as largely as Mr. Wedderburne and others boast they do, let them cease complaining of their poverty, and contentedly discharge their own national debt, rather than go on augmenting; or by their efforts to saddle it, with an unlimited pension-list, on America. Does the nation bear the weight of the present unnatural quarrel with America on other terms, than a firm assurance of the court, that millions of leading mens dependants shall be provided for in America, for whom places can by no means be found at home? Is not the very genius of the people of Great Britain and Ireland corrupted, insomuch, that the views of young fellows of education, or any connection with men of note, are altogether set on public money? Can our peaceable men indulge a gleam of hope, that this humour will alter, or that youths, bred in idleness and dissipation, will become industrious and disinterested patriots? If they can, they must then be so weak as to conceit, that ministers will become less fond of fingering the public money, and securing themselves in places of power and profit by means of it; indeed, that they will become more honest and saving of the national money than those the constitution has appointed as a check upon them. It is no wonder they talk of sending a formidable fleet and army to bring over their terms of reconciliation, when they are in no one article different from the terms they first aimed to impose. Had the minister the remotest idea of favouring us with a government of laws, which had any respect to the security of our lives and properties, he had long since granted it with a good grace to petitions, made and repeated with the most dutiful persevering affection, which asked for nothing more!

more ! *Sed aut Cæsar aut nullus*, seems the unalterable determination of the man, who soothed our already elated expectations, by an inaugural declaration, that he *gloried* in the name of Briton, at that time, a distinctive characteristic of the patrons of universal liberty. If therefore the whole body of the governing, and influential part of the governed in Great Britain, be unalterably set upon extorting tribute from the colonies ; and the better to secure the collection of it, claim right to impose the laws, and executors of those laws, dependant only on themselves for appointment, continuance and support ; and all these to be extended at their sole pleasure ; it may readily be determined in what condition the absolutely passive subjects of such an unnatural usurpation would quickly be. It is evident they have concluded on two things, viz. to make a bold push for our entire subjection, as their ends would be thereby more readily answered ; but that being found impracticable, we are to be tried with negociation, in which all the craft, duplicity and punic faith of administration is to be expected. Pray God it may be wisely and firmly guarded against ! The worthy and honourable John Collins, Esq. of Newport, Rhode Island, on the arrival of Lord North's last conciliatory plan, observed, that notwithstanding the exposure of his large estate, to whatever depredations the enemy saw fit to make upon it, he was more concerned for the probable success of their arts than arms. Had the Americans in general the wisdom and firmness of that gentleman, matters would never have come to the present melancholy lengths we find them. However, in the great and general plan of him who putteth down and setteth up states, this is doubtless an indispensable part, and therefore not to be complained of ; but it has amazed me to contemplate the numerous instances of disappointment our enemies have met with, in every plot they have laid for our destruction. How did Bernard and Hutchinson flatter themselves with the number of friends they had in several towns of the Massachusetts's, and thought that a very trifling force, from the other side of the water, added to their minions, dependants and expectants,

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would crush a little turbulent faction, who disturbed their darling measures? Certainly men, intoxicated with a lust of absolute power, found something in the appearance of things to tole them on to an object so grateful to their fondest wishes; otherwise they would have been contented to augment and confirm their power by such unperceived degrees, that the *happy days*, many tell us, we have enjoyed under a continually invading usurpation; would not yet have been so sensibly interrupted. No less has the so often extolled governor Tryon been disappointed in his benevolent intentions respecting New York. His band on Long Island, and on the east side of Hudson's River, with Sir John Johnson among his vassals, and the Indians, gave him great hopes of having matters in a fine train before the invincible armada arrived in the spring; instead of which, it is probable the active general Lee will so fortify that place, that all the force they can send against it, will be insufficient to reduce it. Dunmore, with all his wanton ravage, has done little more than exasperate the Virginians, and convinced that brave colony, that they can be formidable to savages on the east, as well as west side of their dominion. Carleton's Canadians make no such figure in the harangues of the pensioner, as they did last year; and in case foreigners are to be procured to be poured in upon us, the greatest opposers of our total separation from Britain acknowledge, they would then no longer defer a declaration of independency, and application to other powers for their protection. To this the whole scene appears rapidly advancing, in my view, at hastily as infinite wisdom thinks proper to conduct it; and if this be his most gracious design, he will work, and none shall hinder. Amen, beneficent Jehovah! Amen. *Sic sperat.*

SINCERUS.

*On sending COMMISSIONERS to treat with
the CONGRESS.*

THE man who would penetrate all the designs, and thoroughly acquaint himself with the several manœuvres, of the British government, ought carefully to attend to two objects, viz. The prime minister is always considered as the central wheel of all government movements, and the eyes of every one are fixed upon him, and his motions alone attended to. But in the present case, where he is confessedly ostensible, the affair is quite otherwise; and he who wishes to distinguish between the measures which proceed from the real minister, and will be prosecuted, and those which the ostensible is directed to hold out, as barrels to a whale, may, perhaps, find the true clue to guide through the labyrinth in the following observations.

Great-Britain has steadily and invariably pursued one course of conduct towards these colonies for the last 12 years, and yet politicians have constantly charged her with fickleness and a want of a regular plan. He who discerns the true cause of this inconsistent consistency, can point out its nature, end, and use, and shew that this fickleness demonstrates the firmest steadfastness, sees into the bottom of the present British policy, and comprehends all her measures. This knowledge I wish every member of the Honorable Continental Congress possessed of, with virtue and spirit sufficient to withstand all their efforts to destroy our liberties.

As soon as the Parliament is called, the King gives certain intimations of his designs, and applies for the approbation and support of the Commons. Here we have a small opening of the designs of the Cabinet, no more being communicated than is absolutely necessary for obtaining a general concurrence and vote of aids from Parliament. This being once obtained by way of address, a new plan opens, and that spirit, which was roused by this discovery of the real designs

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of the government, is laid asleep as quickly as possible, and the real minister now retiring behind the curtain, the ostensible one succeeds to his place. You may therefore observe, that, as soon as the hands of the secret cabinet are let loose by loyal addresses, things take a new turn in Parliament immediately; and the prime minister, as if totally forsaking the high ground he had lately taken possession of, begins to open new plans of a very different nature from that held out in the speech from the throne, and recommended in the addresses of both Houses of Parliament. The cabal go to work with all the secrecy and vigour they are masters of, and Lord North assumes his new character, which is that of the deceiver of America, and amuser of the nation. And he has hitherto played his part so well, that all has gone on to their mind. He last year rendered them invisible even to their own party, and had like to lose all by it; so that he was forced to take off the mask, and partly discover himself, before he could carry matters in the House. Any-one who remembers his motion will feel the force of what is here related; and he who recollects that said motion arrived but a few weeks before the order for seizing Messrs. Hancock and Adams, which opened the present scene of the war, must perceive that he acted in the capacity I have assigned him. Even they who entertain the most indifferent opinion of the Administration were, by this motion, induced to believe, for a time, that they meant to give up the matter.

He is now playing the same game over again. Proposals for a reconciliation, Commissioners, and what not, are now held out as the motion was last year, and for the same purposes.

The two parties now divide, each going to his own proper business:—the secret cabinet, to arraying the greatest military force they can muster, and dispatching them to butcher us with the utmost expedition; Lord North, and the Parliament, to amuse the nation, and distract and divide the Colonies by every hypocritical art in their power. Thus the two plans go hand in hand;

hand; the one to divide, the other to conquer. Was it not precisely so last year? Is it not so now? All ye timid, irresolute, terrified, and double-faced Whigs, who have, by one means or other, crept into authority, open your mouths wide, and bawl stoutly against every vigorous measure until the Commissioners arrive. They will bring pockets well lined with English guineas; patents for places, pensions, and titles, in abundance, will attend them. Your palms will be first greased. You are the only men who can complete the Parliamentary plans for raising an American revenue! COMMON SENSE says this winter is worth an age; rejoice that it is now past; do all in your power to pass the spring in inactivity, and matters may yet go to your minds. Lord North's motion last winter did much for you; the Commissioners, equally improved, will probably crown your wishes. I shall thank God, and heartily rejoice, if your influence reach not the councils and proceedings of the Congress.

Depend upon it, my countrymen, "*divide & impera*" is the instruction of every Commissioner; and his orders will be delayed, that he may divide and distract as much as possible, until the forces are all arrived, and they be in a condition to enforce their plan; then they will inform you, they have received orders, by which they are commanded to break off the treaty.

Too many have already lost sight of our real enemies, and are so fascinated with the prospect of Commissioners that I begin to dread the snare, and cannot help crying out to you, Oh, foolish Americans! Who has bewitched you, that you should put any confidence in men who spill your blood with as little ceremony and reluctance as a butcher would that of an ox! Is this all you know of ministers?

I know there is not a Tory now on the continent but hopes these Commissioners will effect their purpose, and are preparing to give them every possible assistance, and very few Whigs who have not their fears on the occasion. Every thinking man on both sides of the question must, and does believe, that their sole errand

is to cajole and deceive; and that large promises, lies, bribery, and corruption, are the means they will use.

I beseech you to lend all your spirit and vigour to the Congress on the occasion. Depend on it, they will want it. Pray them to take one decisive step—to send orders to the Commander in Chief in each province to arrest said Commissioners, in the name of the Thirteen United Colonies, as soon as they set foot on shore, and send them, under strong guards, to the Congress, with the strictest injunction that they be permitted to speak with no man, besides the guards and their servants, until they arrive in Philadelphia; and that, as soon as they arrive, a deputation from Congress wait upon them, and ask them this one plain question,—Have you authority to order home your fleets and armies immediately? If they answer in the negative, then to break off all farther conference, and send them off that instant to the enemy's head-quarters, with this information, That we scorn as much to treat with a dagger at our breasts, as we disregard their forces. If they answer in the affirmative, then to assure them, that, as soon as the intelligence of their fleets and armies arrival in Great-Britain shall have reached America, the conference shall be opened, and not before:—that they, in the mean time, shall be kept in safe custody, treated like gentlemen, but not permitted to correspond or converse with the inhabitants before the treaty is completed. Every hour spent in conference with Commissioners before this takes place, is an hour lost to America, and two gained to Great-Britain, besides the immense damages which will arise from the powers of deceit and corruption: English gold, Government promises, pensions, titles, and every art which malice, cunning, and religious hypocrisy can invent or use, will be played off against our liberties. These, judiciously applied, will convert such among the great as have not virtue and integrity to withstand their force; and you will be sold, without pocketing a penny of the price. Without pocketing, did I say? Nay, yourselves must pay it. Hard lot indeed! But if you have not virtue and spirit sufficient
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to support the Congress in executing these measures for your security, you deserve it. I conclude by exhorting you to keep on the watch; lose not sight of the army by looking at the Prime Minister, Parliament, and Commissioners. One bold stroke will effectually defeat the machinations of the latter, and then the former will stand alone and unsupported, and a second vigorous exertion will crush their evil designs against your liberties. Remember these Commissioners are the wooden horse which is to take those by stratagem whom twelve years hostility could not reduce. Act then like Laocoön; strike the dagger into his breast, and never permit your credulity or inactivity to give the perjured Sinon an opportunity of making a worn-out, deluded, or corrupted Whig, the altar on which to offer up your dear-bought privileges.

CASSANDRA.

P. S. I shall be told, this would be treating the Commissioners too cavalierly. To this I answer, men coming on such an errand cannot be treated too much so. Let any one shew the least mark of a design in Administration to relinquish their claims, and I will treat them with the utmost ceremony and respect. I will publish an *ancient testimony* in their own favour, if it can be but considered as doing them honour. For though, I trust, I shall never prostitute a pure and holy religion to pay my court to men, though they be kings, yet I will do any right thing for those who come on so good an errand.

QUESTIONS and ANSWERS.

IS the stoppage of our exports to Great-Britain, and its dependancies, a political measure?

They who assert that the measure is impolitic, argue thus.—It is the interest of every country to export its produce, and to import as little as possible of the luxuries and manufactures of other countries; the former enriches, the latter impoverishes the inhabitants of a country

country thus exporting, and importing; abstain, say they, from the vanities and luxuries with which England used to supply us, and draw the cash of England by continuing to carry out the product of our labour and industry.—

This is specious, not solid reasoning. The exports from this continent to Great-Britain consist chiefly of rough materials, or of such luxuries, which by being reshipped from the ports of Great-Britain enable its merchants to traffic with foreign nations to greater advantage, and to pay a balance by an exchange of commodities, that must otherwise be discharged in bullion. A stoppage of our exports must therefore very sensibly affect the trade of Great-Britain to the rest of Europe; and we have reason to conclude, that if such stoppage should subsist for any length of time, the European trade, which England now drives on, would be so much impaired as to put the balance against her with every European nation. It is therefore good policy to withhold our exports from Great-Britain, Ireland, and the British West-India islands.

But under a total stoppage of our trade, is it possible to support this civil war for any length of time, for three or four years for instance?

It is very difficult to determine what enthusiasm, indignation, and the love of ones country, may not accomplish. We have read of nations stimulated by those passions, though destitute of foreign and internal resources, having made incredible efforts to preserve their freedom; witness the Saguntines, and the Carthaginians in the last Punic war. It may be doubted whether these colonies, if thus reduced, would imitate so glorious an example. Carthage and Saguntum were single cities; their destruction was irrevocably fixed, and death or slavery, the only choice of citizens resolved to die, or remain free; an implacable and hated enemy surrounded their walls; one common fate, mutual sufferings, and indignation, inspired them with a courage heightened by despair, which the perseverance and conduct of Hannibal, and Roman valor, could scarce surmount.

mount. The instances are not similar, why then expect similar efforts?—Without trade there seem to be but two ways to support the war; emitting paper money, and borrowing on interest part of that money so emitted; for once destroy the credit of your currency, and you render it mere waste paper; its value depends on its credit, and its credit on the opinion which people at large entertain of our ability to exchange it hereafter for gold and silver; suppose, for instance, the continent should emit 100 millions, who could seriously imagine such a sum would ever be paid off in gold and silver? it follows then of course that we are limited in our emissions, because our faculties to redeem those emissions are limited.

To what amount may we emit?

No man, perhaps, can solve this question; the person who should even presume to guess, must have a thorough knowledge of these colonies, he must be well acquainted with the number of their people, their inclinations, arts, and industry, the product of our soil, its capability of improvement, the fisheries, trade, and manufactories, which may be established, and successfully carried on. The extent of these emissions will depend too, in a great degree, on the events of the war; a merchant who prospers in trade may obtain credit to almost any amount; his credit may exceed by several hundred thousands his real capital.

Suppose six millions currency emitted; what part of this emission might be borrowed on interest, and on what interest?

Where the risk is great the interest must be high; where the circumstances of the borrower are conceived to be desperate, he will not be able to borrow, or must give an extravagant premium. The possibility then of borrowing, and the rate of interest, will depend on our good or bad success.—If six millions were to be emitted, and our affairs should prosper, perhaps 2,500,000 might be borrowed by the Congress at six per cent. interest. That sum would but barely answer the charge of one campaign; of future expences, however, a good judgment may be formed from the past. It certainly will

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not be good policy to rely altogether on the above ways and means of raising money to carry on the war; they will only be found to answer in case of success. If we should have no other resources, the knowledge of this very circumstance may encourage our enemy to protract the war. The quit-rents heretofore paid to the crown may be applied to the public use; but besides the inability of the people to pay these quit-rents, when deprived of the means of payment, they will go but a little way towards the support of the war.

How long is it expected that these colonies can sit easy under a total stagnation of external commerce, and the almost entire stoppage of the courts of justice?

This situation is surely too constrained to admit of any considerable duration; the feelings of our people and our exigencies point out the necessity of opening a trade to foreign nations. To protect our trade a marine is wanting; to form one during this war, adequate to the purpose, seems impracticable. We must make it the interest of foreigners to take this burthen on themselves; a declaration of independance might possibly tempt France and Spain to run the risk of a war with England, provided those powers could be assured of our remaining independant; they would, no doubt, be willing to guarrantee our independance, but they may apprehend, and not without good grounds, that their taking a too early part with us in the war would induce Great-Britain to make peace with the colonies. It may therefore be the policy of France and Spain not to appear forward and desirous of intermeddling; to suffer the war to continue, that the contending parties, exasperated by mutual injuries, may not again coalesce; secretly to countenance their subjects commerce with these colonies, and perhaps to assist them with money, arms, and ammunition. Should the British government direct the war to be prosecuted in the manner it has been, and should every colony in turn experience such horrid ravages, the resentment and indignation occasioned thereby may totally alienate the minds of the colonists, and wean them from that affection, which heretofore bound them to Great-Britain;

Britain; the force of habit will wear off; the remembrance of past benefits will be obliterated by recent wrongs, and the sweets of independance once enjoyed will effectually preclude a subsequent dependance on Great-Britain.

Will not the mischiefs of independance overbalance the benefits?

To determine this question both must be stated; and dispassionately considered; to form a true judgement. The evils apprehended from independance may be reduced to these three; civil dissensions; the establishment of tyranny; as a certain consequence; and the great expence of fleets and armies to maintain that independance. As a federal union of these colonies will probably ensue, should they separate from Great-Britain, it may be presumed that the utmost precaution will be used in drawing the articles of the union; and in the formation and settlement of this new government, every security which human foresight can suggest will be taken for the preservation of the liberties, privileges, and independancy of each colony; and the protection of all. Dissensions can spring only from the ambition of the more powerful colonies, or from a contrariety of interests. What probability is there that two or three colonies will unite to subdue the rest? Is it not more probable, should any colony or colonies break the union, and form the ambitious project of conquering the others, that these will immediately unite against the infringers of the public faith? Foreign assistance would not be wanting to support the weaker confederacy, and this consideration alone would deter the stronger from the attempt.

If ambition should not occasion a civil war, a difference of interests and religion may; the interests of these colonies are as different as their religious tenets.—

This has often been said, but remains to be proved. Some disputes may arise concerning trade, duties, customs, and impositions on merchandize, or about the limits and boundaries of contiguous provinces; these disputes must be adjusted and finally settled by the Great
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Council, or States General of the United Colonies. Such partial controversies will, for many years at least, give way to the public safety, which would be endangered by suffering them to grow to too great a pitch; the common enemy might take advantage of such civil discord, and reduce all the colonies under one yoke. In this tolerating age we have no great cause to apprehend a religious war; the spirit of religious persecution is wearing off in all the civilized nations of Europe, and will still decrease as they become more enlightened and refined. Can we then rationally suppose, that these Colonies, hitherto eminently distinguished for toleration, and whose union will be founded on that humane and politic principle, will, from a frantic zeal for religion, plunge themselves into the complicated miseries of a civil and religious war? If neither the ambition of some colonies, nor a difference of interests, nor religious rancour, are likely to produce a civil war, it follows of course, that the establishment of tyranny (the second evil) is extremely improbable and remote.

But, to preserve our independence, will not a strong fleet and army be necessary? Neither can be supported without a great expence, and standing armies are dangerous to liberty, besides being burthensome to those who pay them.

When these colonies enjoy an unfettered trade, the profits of it will enable them to equip and maintain a naval force sufficient to guard their coasts and commerce, and this fleet will render a standing army unnecessary; a well regulated militia will answer all the purposes of self-defence, and of a wise and just government; the expence, therefore, of a regular standing army may be saved, without exposing ourselves to danger from a foreign enemy, and the militia will be able to suppress any internal commotions excited by factious and discontented men.

What will be the probable benefits of independance?

A free and unlimited trade; a great accession of wealth, and a proportionable rise in the value of land; the establishment, gradual improvement, and perfection
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of manufactures and science; a vast influx of foreigners, encouraged by the mildness of a free, equal, and tolerating government, to leave their native countries, and settle in these colonies; an astonishing encrease of our people from the present stock. Where encouragement is given to industry, where liberty and property are well secured, where the poor may easily find subsistence, and the middling rank comfortably support their families by labour, there the inhabitants must encrease rapidly; to some of these causes we owe the doubling of our numbers in somewhat more than twenty-five years. If such hath been the progress of population under the former restraints on our trade and manufactures, a population still more rapid may be reasonably expected when these restraints come to be taken off.

Should France and Spain, either from inability to contend with Great-Britain, or governed by weak, irresolute, or corrupted counsels, or influenced by the dangerous precedent of countenancing subjects in arms against their sovereign, refuse to enter into any treaty or alliance with these colonies, and prohibit their subjects from trading with them, could the colonies by their own strength and internal resources maintain the war for five or six years?

It is not at all probable that this war can last so long. If the first efforts of the British Government should prove unsuccessful, the decay of trade, and the consequent distress and ruin brought on the manufacturers and merchants of Great-Britain will occasion great divisions in the nation, perhaps a revolution; such factions and tumults would certainly prevent a full exertion of the British nation's strength. Should the war be protracted to three years, even after that space of time its operations will become languid and feeble; a smaller force may then be opposed to the enemy, and as we diminish our land-army, we may augment our navy. In the winter we may force, at least, a clandestine trade with foreigners in spite of the British marine. During the war, manufactories may be set on foot, and promoted by the respective legislatures of the several Colonies.

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40 QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

We shall be able, in eighteen or twenty months, to make within ourselves gunpowder, cannon, fire-arms, and all the implements of war. The establishment of such manufactures will find employment for the poor, and be a prodigious saving to the country. A strict œconomy may lessen our expences in other particulars. The pay of the army may, perhaps, hereafter be reduced, and a well-disciplined militia, under proper regulations, might put us in a condition to disband a considerable part of our regular forces. Should the Colonists conduct the war with prudence and success, loans of money may, perhaps, be negotiated among foreigners, and even in England, on easy terms; a contraband trade will enrich some of our merchants, and bring in gold and silver. The procurement of these precious metals is an object of the utmost consequence; a certain proportion will be requisite to give credit to our paper currency. Our country abounds with all the necessaries of life; we have iron, copper, and lead mines, and we already make iron in quantities equal to our consumption, and the encreasing demand. Men convinced of the justice of their cause, animated with the love of liberty, and fighting in defence of it, are capable of incredible efforts; conduct, valor, virtue, and perseverance combined are irresistible; necessity may require the full exertion of all these, but the skilful politician would not wish to see the patriotism of his countrymen put to so severe a trial.

Suppose the war to continue six years, and that it will cost us three millions per annum. If victory at the end of that period should effect and secure our independance, eighteen millions will not perhaps on reflection be thought any such mighty incumbrance. An unconfined trade will open new sources of treasure; domestic will supply the place of foreign manufactures, and prevent a very great drain of our wealth; foreign luxuries may be subject to high duties; the burthen too, as it will be divided among a greater number, will fall the lighter on the rising generation; six millions of people will probably discharge the debt contracted by three;
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the vacant and ungranted land may be made a fund for paying off a part of this debt, by appropriating the purchase-money and the reserved quit-rents to that purpose. The pernicious consequences of a heavy national debt, so fatal to Great-Britain, should teach the colonies wisdom, and induce them to get rid of the load as quickly as possible. It is not the interest of states more than of individuals to be indebted; but as individuals on some occasions may contract debts with a view to future gain, so states may prudently in particular emergencies anticipate their revenues by borrowing present capitals on the credit of future interests, that the abilities of several years may be cast into one. WE CANNOT PAY TOO GREAT A PRICE FOR LIBERTY, AND POSTERITY WILL THINK INDEPENDANCE A CHEAP PURCHASE AT EIGHTEEN MILLIONS.

CASE IN POINT. *What caution is to be used, lest public counsels and opportunities of managing affairs be lost, under pretence of a long treaty, spun out on purpose by COMMISSIONERS of the opposite party.*

AFTER the first commotions and tumults in the Netherlands, the Spaniards and Dutch treated divers times about reconciling their differences; for which end they called divers meetings, or assemblies, wherein the Spaniards constantly did this, that they protracted the time by long debates, and at length made no concessions; and so in the mean time would deprive the Dutch of proper opportunities to carry on the war, and establish their liberty. At length they met once more at Breda, where the deputies of both parties being present, those for Spain insisted upon having all things acted and examined in order; that order consisted herein, when private and particular things, which were impediments to a general reconciliation, were first dispatched and removed out of the way; and then they would treat about establishing a general friendship and unity between the parties: which, when the Dutch deputies understood, who

who had been so often amused, they debated among themselves, whether it was convenient they should proceed in that manner in this conference?

OPINIONS. Some were for agreeing with the advice and method of the Spaniards herein; for the rules of order did require that they should first treat of things past, then to come, especially since the former might prove an impediment to the other; neither could they fully treat of a reconciliation, without those impediments were first removed and taken away; and therefore they ought first to treat of this.

Others opposed this, saying, it signified nothing to observe this method, without they arrived, by the observance thereof, at a just and the designed end; which if they did suppose was not to be attained to, to what purpose should they have so many deliberations and altercations about other matters? and what would the consequence be else, but the present losing of the present opportunities, which otherwise might have been better improved?

Liberty of conscience, in matters of religion, was the end they aimed at, and it signified nothing to talk of other matters, or to have all the rest granted to them, without this; and therefore they were in the first place to ask the Spanish deputies, whether they had power to reconcile all differences with the safety of their religion, and liberty of conscience? if so, all things might be treated of in order. Neither could they then doubt but all things must terminate well; but if otherwise, it signified nothing to transact all other matters in order, for opportunities in the mean time would be lost, and nothing at last done by that Congress, which they had had sufficient experience of already.

RESOLUTION. This last opinion they agreed to as the best and most advisable to follow: and therefore they asked in the first place, before they would enter upon any other matters, whether the Spanish deputies had power to allow of liberty of conscience?

EVENT. Hereupon they came presently to know, that they were not empowered to do that; and therefore

fore the Dutch deputies departed forthwith, that so they might not be impeded by the protracting of time, but make use of other occasions that presented themselves against the Spaniards, and assert the liberty of their religion.

JUDGMENT. By how much the seldomer good opportunities offer themselves, so much the more they are to be minded; but enemies and adversaries for the most part endeavour to spoil them, under a pretence of offering peace, and spinning out their debates to a great length. What is to be done in this case? Certainly a christian scarce ought to refuse meetings offered him to treat of a peace. And while a peace is treated of, either all acts of hostility are to cease till the peace is made; or if they have otherwise agreed on't, they are, in order to prevent the losing of time and opportunities by dilatory debates and consultations, to demand to be informed by the deputies of the adverse party, whether they have power to grant those things which we think to be wholly our due, and which we neither will nor can be without; and lastly, without which the granting of all the rest will signify nothing: but if they have no such power, why should not they at the very beginning of their meeting leave them, as persons insignificant to their purpose, and rather noxious to them than otherwise. In this case it is the highest prudence, and much time and divers opportunities may be gained, by sifting out at first what is like to become of the main thing for which the assembly was appointed. And herein the Dutch acted very cautiously and advisedly.

Proposals for a CONFEDERATION of the
United Colonies.

ARTICLES of agreement and confederation, entered into by the several colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Three Lower Counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia.

ARTICLE I.

THE said colonies do severally enter into a firm league and covenant with each other to act in union, by the name of *The United Colonies in North-America*, for their common defence against their enemies, the security of their LIBERTIES and PROPERTIES, and for their mutual and general welfare.

II. Each colony shall retain and enjoy as much as it may think fit of its own present laws, customs, privileges, and peculiar constitutions, and have the sole direction and government of its own internal police; but shall form no alliances or political connections with the people of any other country or state; separate from the other United Colonies.

III. For the management of their common interests and concerns, a general Congress of Delegates, from the several United Colonies, shall be held on the first Thursday of September, annually, at such place as the Congress shall appoint; the next September session to be at such place as the present Congress shall appoint: and each succeeding annual session shall be in a different colony, until it hath been held in seven of the middle colonies at least, and so in perpetual rotation, unless exigencies require a deviation, or the Congress shall think fit to enlarge the circuit, or extend it to all the colonies. The number of Delegates from each colony shall

shall be in proportion to the number of its inhabitants, of every age and quality, not exceeding one Delegate for every thirty thousand inhabitants complete, who shall be annually elected by the Legislative Assembly, or Convention, of the respective colonies. And to constitute a Congress, two thirds at least of the United Colonies shall be represented therein. And a concurrence of a majority of the Colonies represented, and also a majority of the Delegates present, shall be necessary to make a vote of the Congress. The Delegates, when convened in Congress, shall elect one of their number to preside, and a suitable person for secretary, to keep a record of their votes and proceedings.

IV. The Congress shall have authority to agree on proper measures for the defence and security of the United Colonies against all their enemies; for restoring peace and harmony with Great-Britain, on terms not inconsistent with the constitutional rights of any of the colonies; to manage treaties, and form alliances of amity and commerce with other states; determine on peace and war, superintend Indian affairs, establish and regulate post-offices, hear and determine controversies between colony and colony, according to the right of the parties, by the rules of law or equity; make rules for regulating the naval and land forces in the pay of the United Colonies, appoint the general-officers to command them, and other officers necessary for the managing public affairs under the direction of the Congress, appoint a committee of Safety and Correspondence to transmit such matters in the recess of the Congress as may be judged necessary to commit to them for the general welfare of the United Colonies. But the Congress shall have no authority to impose or levy taxes, or interfere with the internal policy of any of the Colonies.

V. The charges of war, and all other expences that shall be incurred for the common welfare, and allowed by the Congress, shall be defrayed out of the common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several colonies,

in proportion to the number of their inhabitants of every age and quality, a true account of which shall be triennially taken and transmitted to the Congress. The taxes for paying that proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the Assemblies of the respective Colonies; and each Colony shall be at the expence of supporting its own Delegates in Congress.

VI. No army shall be kept up in the pay of the United Colonies in time of peace; but each colony shall always keep up a well regulated and disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and accoutred; and shall also be provided with public stores of ammunition, not less than at the rate of two pounds of powder, and eight pounds of lead or leaden ball, for every militia-man in the Colony. And when troops are raised in any of the Colonies for the common defence, the commission officers proper for the troops raised in each Colony (except the general-officers) shall be appointed by the Assembly and Convention thereof, and commissioned as the Congress shall direct.

VII. Any other of the British Colonies on this continent, upon their acceding to this confederation, shall be admitted to the privileges of the Union.

A Confederation of the Colonies would be useful, if the former connection between them and Great-Britain were restored, and would not be inconsistent therewith.

But in their present state, when they are expressly excluded from the King's protection by a late act of Parliament, and probably will never be restored to it again, unless they resign their liberties, and Great-Britain is carrying on a cruel war against them; is it not absolutely necessary, that they should enter into an explicit Confederation with each other, to enable them to exert their united strength in their own defence, when they may expect soon to be attacked by all the force that

A CONFEDERATION. 47

that the British Government can send against them? The New-England Colonies, by many years experience, found great advantages by a Confederation, in carrying on their wars with the Indians, in treating with neighbouring Colonies settled under other states, and in adjusting and settling matters among themselves. A Confederation will require the consent or approbation of the several Colonies in their respective Assemblies or Conventions, and that they authorize their Delegates to ratify it in Congress before it will be valid.—Ought it not to be forwarded without loss of time?

The foregoing Articles are proposed to the Public rather to draw their attention to the subject, than as a perfect *model*. Should they be of any use in forming a Confederation, they will, doubtless, admit of amendments.

THE END.

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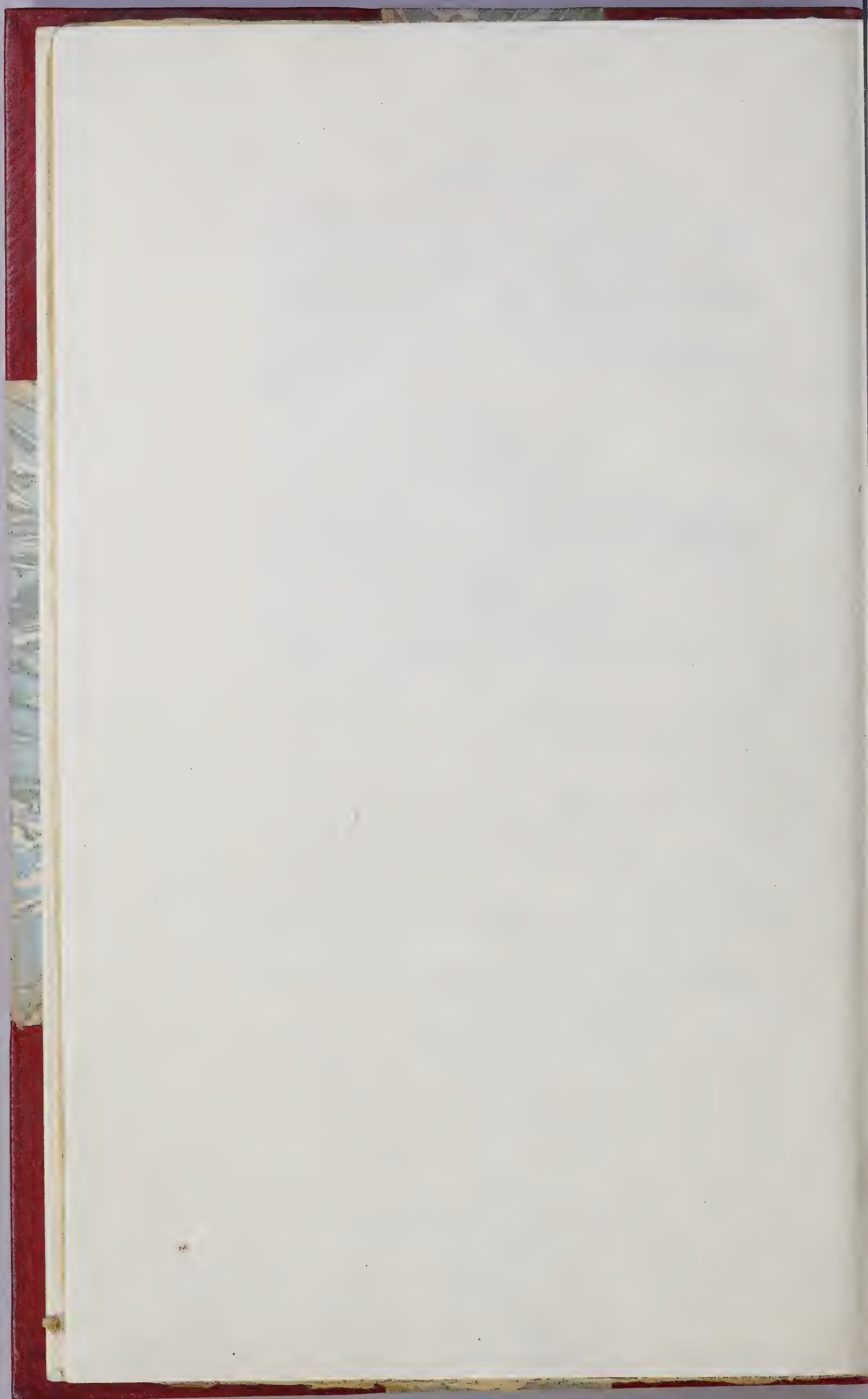
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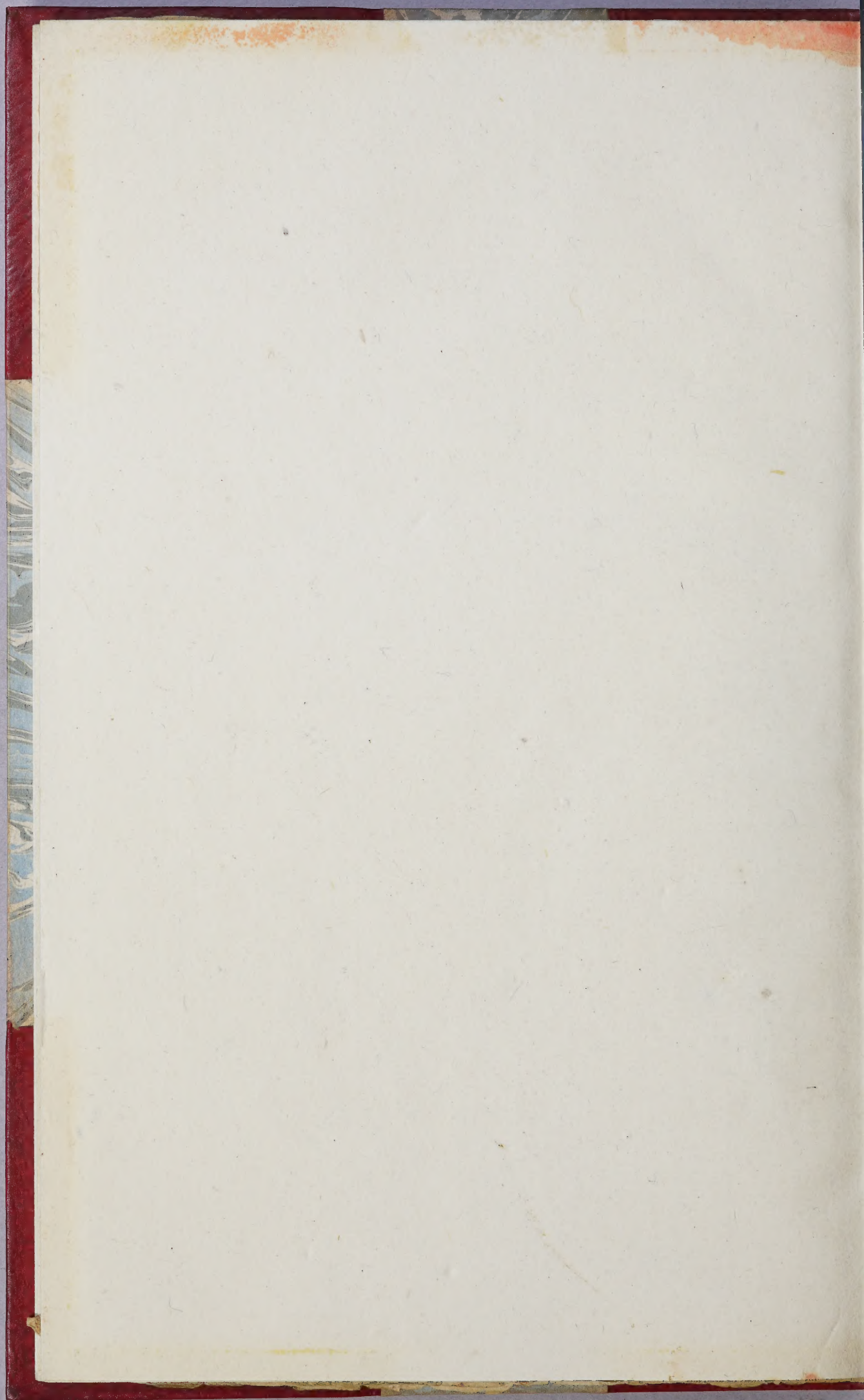
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